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commonweal

John Cogley

CATHOLIC UNIVERSITIES: THE FUTURE OF AN ILLUSION

Daly, Ellis, Greeley,
Kearns, Lauer, Lawler,
McCluskey, Manier,
Molnar, Zahn

ZEROING IN ON FREEDOM

Frank Getlein

Jonathan Eisen

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NEWS AND VIEWS

The only surprise in the recent public questioning of Project Equality as a tactic using the hiring and purchasing power of churches to end employment discrimination is that it did not come sooner.

The propriety of the program has been debated heatedly, but always privately. Responsible public doubts awaited the New York *Times'* publication of Edward Fiske's piece, "Churches Flex Their Economic Muscle." Fr. John Reedy of *Ave Maria* was quoted as saying: "Churches aren't at home with this sort of method and can easily foul up their own purposes. The power that is used to promote equal employment today might easily be used to enforce censorship tomorrow. What does the liberal who backs Project Equality say to someone else who thinks that Catholic hospitals should boycott pharmaceutical firms that manufacture birth control pills?"

The worry is not without foundation, but, and we think Fr. Reedy would agree, the question is more a secondary than a primary consideration.

Most valid is the logic of the position paper that accompanied the recent resolution of the Association of Chicago Priests urging the Archdiocese of Chicago to adopt Project Equality. The position paper placed Project Equality principles alongside quality, price and service as basic value determinants for institutions whose orientation is professedly moral.

Incidentally, 85 religious judicatories in the United States, including 18 Catholic dioceses and archdioceses, are using Project Equality.

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Speaking of the Association of Chicago Priests, 75 nuns sat in as guests at the association's May meeting.

With priests organized into independent associations in several areas, with laymen organizing and planning a coordinating convention for Minneapolis June 23-25, the question becomes: when, the nuns? The answer is soon . . . perhaps very soon. But look for the movement to begin elsewhere than in Chicago.

•

Pressures to bring fraternal organizations more into line with the patriotic principles they all so fervently espouse are being applied strongly at the moment in Pittsburgh, where the Catholic Interracial Council is demanding that the Eagles and the Moose drop membership requirements based on race.

Both Eagles and Moose ask membership applicants to certify that they are of the Caucasian race; the Moose also ask certification that the applicant is not married to one of any other race.

The Pittsburgh pressures are being directed by Fr. Donald McIlvane, a priest out of the same mold as Fr. James Groppi, a leader in the recent Eagle hunt in Milwaukee.

Says Fr. McIlvane: "The gospel of Christ demands that we oppose any and every attempt to limit the growth of friendship among all men of every race and nationality. For this reason we state flatly that the membership requirements of the Moose and Eagles are evil."

From the Moose, no trumpet.

From the Eagles, the screech that "under the democratic process" delegates to its last national convention voted by a 14-to-1 margin to continue to discriminate.

Both Eagles and Moose can, of course, be counted upon for prominent, if hypocritical, participation in all "patriotic" displays.

•

The National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception in Washington, D.C., through the eyes of Jack Cook in *The Catholic Worker*:

"The . . . Shrine . . . occupied much of our thought; an unavoidable occurrence, for no place, within or without it, is free from distractions of the grossest variety. From a distance the Shrine is absurd. The blue and gold dome and the blue and gold tip of the steeple are at first amusing; one reserves judgment, hesitates as if one were to laugh at a bad joke. Upon approaching, the apt word comes screeching forth; it is grotesque. The Irish Stew of the architectural world; so many conflicting, discordant, unattractive elements from every age and period. Truly, a Vision of Error."

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It all depends on whom one consults.

Participants in the April 15 peace demonstration in New York were estimated from 100,000 to 400,000 . . . Pilgrims at Fatima to hear Pope Paul were placed from "nearly a million" to "two million." . . . And the pro-Vietnam paraders in New York on May 13 were computed by enthusiasts at from 250,000 upwards towards 500,000.

Whom do you believe?

On items one and two, we have no suggestions. On item three, believe the New York *Times*. It stationed a reporter on May 13 at 91st Street and Fifth Avenue, near where the parade began, and equipped him with a mechanical counter. His total: 70,810.

You prefer other sources? Well, the New York *Daily News*, likewise via mechanical counter, arrived at 75,000. Close. And *Time*, means obscure, said 63,000. Less close.

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Food for Thought Department:

—"In the Nuremberg convictions we contend that the individual, not the state, is final arbiter of conscience. Now, by refusing selective conscientious objection we are saying to American youth, 'The state, not the individual, is the final arbiter of conscience.'" . . .

That from Graham R. Hodges, pastor, Emmanuel Congregational Church, Watertown, N.Y. . . . . Or, if you prefer, Robert McAfee Brown:

"At the Nuremberg trials following World War II, the Allies laid individual guilt upon Germans for attacking villages, destroying civilian property, deporting people, and destroying land around towns. Yet we find the same things in Vietnam. When we do it, we don't call it wrong. We call it 'Operation Cedar Falls.'"

JOHN DEEDY

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CORRESPONDENCE

America's Indians

Lawrence, Kansas

To the Editors: The Commission announces as its goal, "making the Irish-Catholic a self-respecting and useful American citizen." Sounds nasty?—then try substituting "Polish-Catholic," or "Jew," or "Negro." Still sounds nasty, then how about "American Indian"? And this is precisely the attitude (p. 1) of the authors of *The Indian—America's Unfinished Business,* which Lawrence T. King thought a "splendid introduction" (April 28).

Far from splendid, the book is marred by the same authoritarian reformism that has distinguished so many benevolent associations and churches in their work with the Indians (or with poor). Thus, as King notes, "All through the book, there are suggestions that the Indian must do this, that and the other thing—without going into any detail of how he is to be motivated." Thus, in the tradition of this authoritarian reformism the authors pin their hopes on education, only to find that (again quoting King) "here the conflict is greatest." But, that is inevitable, as long as the educational system is the institutionalization of the White's desires to transform or destroy the Indian society, rather than being an expression of the Indian community.

The Commission asserts (p. 4) that, "it would be unwise to dismiss all that is in the traditional Indian culture as being necessarily a barrier to change," and thereby they adopt a convenient mythology. For, since Columbus, the history of American Indians has been a history of rapid change. . . . The point, of course, is that the Indians are changing in the directions they have chosen and not in the ones that the Commission, or King, or I, would have chosen for them.

Ironically, the Indians—at least the more impoverished and uneducated groups that I know—have been clinging to some thoroughly Christian virtues. It is one of the ironies of conducting field work among Plains people to hear mis-

(Continued on page 327)

NEWS & VIEWS: 306 **CORRESPONDENCE: 307**
EDITORIALS: 307
TO TELL OR NOT TO TELL: *William V. Shannon* **308**
THE FUTURE OF AN ILLUSION: *John Cogley* **310**
ZEROING IN ON FREEDOM: **316**
THE STAGE: *Richard Bimonte* **321** ***THE SCREEN:*** *Philip T. Hartung* **323**
BOOKS: 324

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THE AMERICAN WOUND

Most of those who participated in the "Support Our Boys" march in New York a few weeks ago were employing a normal means for expressing their opinion in a democracy. The exceptions, however, were still frightening. The marchers who cruelly beat an uninvolved passer-by simply because he had long hair and wore sandals, the gang which brutally attacked a group of "hippies" who had received permission to march in the parade—ironically, the American flags the "hippies" carried were torn from them, ripped and trampled by the patriotic attackers—are disturbing signs of what a long war can do to America.

On the one hand, patriotism is becoming the all-purpose stick with which to beat one's opponents. On the other hand, the enlarging war and the snail's pace of the civil rights and poverty struggles have profoundly disenchanted many young people, and not merely with the tinsel of this civilization but with the democratic process itself. Yet day by day, the chances for escaping this apocalyptic mood slip by. The House of Representatives cut out the new rent subsidy program entirely. The President's request for "model cities" was cut from $662 million to $237 million in committee and then barely squeaked by on the House floor. Congressman Fino called it "a program to reward the rioters" which should be particularly opposed "during this costly period of war in Vietnam." The House Armed Services Committee approved a new version of the Selective Service Act which would narrow, not widen, provisions for conscientious objectors; would induct CO's into the armed forces, requiring them to perform alternative service under military discipline; and would maintain college deferments. (Many officials in Washington fear that, if deferments were eliminated, one out of four college students would refuse to fight in Vietnam.) By cutting off progress on the home front, by restricting the opportunities for legal, personal protest against the war, the House is spilling salt into America's open wound.

A sizable group of Americans believe the war in Vietnam is not merely an unwise policy but a moral disaster. Such a belief is not amenable to much compromise. The dissenters are apt to grow more desperate; the supporters are apt to bludgeon the country into line. That America has gen-

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erally succeeded in avoiding such confrontations is what the consensus theories are really all about. Perhaps the next chapter of U.S. history will be a new and unlovely departure.

OUR FREE WORLD

One of the reasons the U.S. offers for its military interventions around the globe is the preservation of freedom. A glance at the newspapers suggests something less than success. Do these incidents prove intervention was always uncalled for? Not necessarily. They do demonstrate that freedom doesn't sprout simply because the Communists were kept out and that the United States ought to make its claims with a little more modesty:

In Guatemala, "some 35 persons have been assassinated by rightist paramilitary gangs since April 1," according to the New York *Times* of May 11. One official of the Guatemala City government was kidnapped and tortured; the home of another was machine-gunned twice. Fifty trade union leaders, professional men and students are marked for death in right-wing publications. The Guatemalan bishops have issued a pastoral letter protesting the "growing insecurity." "Every day," they say, "there are more widows and orphans, innocent victims of mysterious struggles and vendettas. Men are torn violently from their homes by unidentified kidnappers, or they are brutally murdered, their bodies appearing later with signs of torture and mutilation."

In South Korea, observers hailed the recent election of President Chung Hee Park as relatively free. Immediately after the election, three candidates who ran against Park were arrested.

In the Dominican Republic, there is more "evidence of mounting terrorism," according to the *Christian Science Monitor* (May 13). Two members of the party of Juan Bosch were recently found shot to death. One of them was a Santo Domingo city councilor.

In South Vietnam, Marshal Ky frankly admitted that the military would move against any victor in the coming presidential election who was not to his liking. (Ky himself is, of course, a candidate.) "If he is a Communist or if he is a neutralist, I am going to fight him militarily. In any democratic country you have the right to disagree with the views of others," Ky explained. Press censorship, he added, would continue during the election campaign.

In Greece . . . well, sorry about that.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

TO TELL OR NOT TO TELL

Several episodes in recent months have raised the eternal problem of good ends and bad means.

Not many people, even among the right-wing claque that has belatedly rallied to his support, are much distressed that Senator Thomas J. Dodd of Connecticut has been exposed as a rather shabby politician who has been able to live beyond his means by diverting the proceeds of political fund-raising dinners to his private use. But many who have no sympathy for Dodd are distressed by the fact that his operations became public knowledge only because four former employees copied thousands of letters and documents in his files and turned the copies over to columnists Drew Pearson and Jack Anderson. The good end that these ex-employees had in view cannot justify their theft of his papers, it is argued. The ex-employees counter with the arguments that they had no hope of private gain and that when they became convinced of Dodd's misconduct, their highest duty was not to him but the public which was paying their salaries.

My own view is that they were right in what they did. Each of these episodes has to be considered in its specific factual context. A congressional employee who has evidence of wrongdoing by a member of Congress has an especially difficult time knowing how to proceed. By contrast, an employee in private business can always complain to the local district attorney. The latter, if we assume that he is honest, will then conduct a criminal investigation in the regular way without expecting the employee to steal documents to prove the case or otherwise compromise himself. Similarly, a federal employee in one of the executive departments can, as a last resort, report wrongdoing to a member of Congress.

But a congressional employee does not have these clear options. If he complains to the Justice Department, he has to take into account the realistic possibility that the Department may be reluctant to investigate a member of Congress. That is particularly true when, as in the Dodd case, the offending senator is a member of the Administration party and a close personal and political friend of the President. (Dodd, it will be recalled, was the only prominent New England politician to support Johnson against John Kennedy at the 1960 convention.) I do not wish to confuse the case by seeming to hint that Lyndon Johnson's Justice Department would not have investigated Senator Dodd. I am pointing out that the ex-employees could quite reasonably fear that the Justice Department would not act.

The ex-employees, unlike bureaucrats in the executive agencies, could not turn to members of Congress and hope for a sympathetic hearing. Everyone knows that

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members of the House and Senate are notoriously reluctant to investigate the affairs of a colleague.

Under these circumstances, the accusers turned to the press. It was the logical place for them to go. One of the functions of a free press is to serve as a check and a watchdog on official power. For more than thirty years, Drew Pearson has acted as a kind of unofficial ombudsman ventilating scandals and exposing wrongs. He gets much of his information from government and congressional employees who know he is fearless in printing information that powerful people would like to keep hidden.

My experience as a reporter in Washington suggests to me that most scandals would never be uncovered except by irregular methods. Someone usually has to breach a confidence of some sort to get a case started; the motives vary from pure patriotism and indignation at corruption to vengeance or the desire to sell information for money. The motives are different, but the method is usually somewhat irregular. If the sources of information in most scandals had to abide by the scrupulous due process procedures required of prosecutors and policemen in preparing a case for trial, few scandals would get exposed.

It is not beyond human ingenuity to devise an institution that would make such irregular methods unnecessary, at least for congressional employees. Congress could establish an independent commission, made up perhaps of three or five retired judges, which would have its own staff to receive complaints and conduct inquiries. Employees and ordinary citizens would have confidence in an institution that was outside the congressional power structure. At the same time, congressmen would be spared the embarrassment of investigating one another.

Congress, however, resists delegating any authority over its own members and their conduct to an outside body. It clings instead to the older tradition of parliament as a law unto itself. But this is not sound procedure because Congress is unique among parliaments. The House of Commons and the French National Assembly (at least in pre-Gaullist days) delegated executive power to a committee of its own members, i.e., the cabinet. But under the American constitution where the executive and legislative powers are supposed to be compartmentalized, Congress has developed an elaborate and powerful committee system to oversee, investigate and control the spending of the executive. Under the congressional system, committee chairmen and senior members have an ability to affect the spending of government money, the granting of contracts, and the placing of government installations that is not matched by members of any other parliament. That is why conflicts of interest, imputations of corruption, and codes of conduct are much more the subject of interest in Washington than they are in London. And that is why, in my opinion, Congress ought to protect itself by delegating authority to an outside body.

The several controversies over the role of the Central Intelligence Agency in financing private organizations also raise this problem of means and ends. As the *Commonweal* commented editorially when the CIA's subsidies to the student organizations were disclosed earlier this year, it is a serious indictment of democratic institutions that no candid, above-board method had been developed to finance these activities. Yet it does not seem to me that the Truman and Eisenhower administrations had much choice except to use the CIA if Communist activities among students, intellectuals, and labor unions were to be countered effectively in the late '40s and early '50s. This was the period when Senator Joe McCarthy, with the help of Roy Cohn and David Schine, was busy investigating the Voice of America and United States Information Service libraries abroad. Even worse, it was a time when Senator Pat McCarran was chairman of the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee controlling the State Department budget.

The McCarrans and McCarthys would not tolerate the Government's spending public funds to support a student festival, a socialist trade union, or a highbrow magazine under non-Communist control such as *Encounter*. If the United States was to hold its own in the cold war, the policymakers had no alternative except to use the CIA, or some comparable clandestine agency. Moreover, the CIA displayed remarkably sound political judgment in investing in private organizations. It recognized that liberals and radicals, not reactionaries, offer the more effective competition to Communists. (I am not suggesting that the CIA never subsidizes reactionaries, but I am saying that an agency that underwrites free trade unions or a magazine of the quality of *Encounter* deserves some credit for political sophistication.) I fail to share the indignation that seems to be so widespread about the CIA's activities. I do not see, for example, how the American Newspaper Guild has been compromised because it joined in a government-financed program to train trade union leaders and newspapermen from Latin America. Where the money comes from is not always the controlling consideration. Stephen Spender was not tainted while editing *Encounter* by the fact that the money for the magazine came, unbeknownst to him, from the CIA. After all, private philanthropists sometimes make their fortunes in morally dubious ways. It would seem more to the point to ask for what purpose the money was to be spent than where it came from.

I suspect that the editors of *Ramparts,* who first broke the CIA story, share my viewpoint. They are not really so disturbed that the student organizations and the trade unions are going to be subverted from their normal objectives— there is no evidence that they have been. But *Ramparts* is disturbed because these institutions spent the CIA money for an added objective of which the editors of *Ramparts* disapprove: to combat Communist influence abroad and to advance the interests of American foreign policy.

WILLIAM V. SHANNON

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THE FUTURE OF AN ILLUSION

Catholic universities face the fate of the papal states

JOHN COGLEY

Recently, in a speech to the National Council of Catholic Men, Bishop John J. Wright distinguished between the Church *in* the future and the Church *of* the future. What the Church *in* the future will be like, Bishop Wright indicated, depends on how Catholics react to "the breakdown of classical culture," which he held is the source of the unsettled state of Catholics the world over.

The Bishop added that "this crisis will confront the unchanging faith with new opportunities, new labors, new structures." The Church *of* the future, then, will be the changeless mystery of the Second Vatican Council's "Constitution on the Church." But, the Church *in* the future may also be barely recognizable. Even we who are living in the wake of the Ecumenical Council may find the changes drastic.

This article is concerned with the Church *in* the future, particularly with one structure of the Church in the United States, the Catholic university.

Since the key words have already appeared, perhaps the best way to begin is to state the conclusion right off: I do not believe the Catholic university as such *has* any future.

In other words, the idea of the Church's conducting something identifiable as a "Catholic university," in the sense that Marquette, St. Louis, Fordham, Notre Dame, Georgetown and the Loyolas are today considered Catholic universities, will one day seem as anachronistic as the papal states, the error-has-no-rights "Catholic State," the Catholic penitentiary, or the Catholic bank (which is still memoralized in the now-secularized Banco di Santo Spirito whose branches are found all over Rome). These institutions had their last-ditch defenders before they expired. At least two of them, the Papal temporal power and the confessional state, were once bolstered by elaborate theological theories. Those that still exist, like the few remaining confessional States, are looked down upon elsewhere in the Church as embarrassing hangovers from the past.

To say that the American Catholic university as such has no future is bold. I would not have been so free about predicting it even a few years ago. But in the meantime it has become clear that what Bishop Wright described as "the breakdown of classical culture" is taking place faster than we thought it would.

How much Bishop Wright intended to include under the heading of "classical culture," I am not sure. In all probability it has something to do not only with ancient Greece and Rome but with the relationships between Church and state, Christianity and culture, and religion and society that have existed in one form or another since Christianity was established as the religion of the ancient Empire.

As was dramatized in two recent films, "Becket" and "A Man for All Seasons," these relationships have had their ups and downs. But, as historians like Christopher Dawson have long been telling us, with sadness, and as others like Arnold Toynbee have coolly agreed, the age-old links are crumbling.

It is becoming clear that we are moving into a new situation—the situation Father Karl Rahner has described as "the Church in diaspora." The realization that this *is* the situation is the source of the intellectual and spiritual crisis confronting Christians the world over. We are being forced to recognize that, whether we like it or

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not, modernity has triumphed; Bishop Wright, for example, is probably not happy about the breakdown of "classical culture." But apparently he is willing to accept it as a fact of contemporary life.

Though it was possible to see the "breakdown" coming, few of us were able to clock the speed with which the realization of it would reach the critical stage. If we failed to recognize it fully before the Second Vatican Council, it may have been because so many Catholic institutions had created a facade of relevance between their own cultural concerns and the rest of the world. The facade was so convincing, to Catholics if not to others, that we did not realize the secular revolution had gone as far as it had. At least we did not realize it had made such inroads within the Catholic community itself.

Not very many years ago, American Catholics spoke bravely of Renascences, Returns to Tradition, and Revivals. Catholic magazines and books appeared under such titles; such phrases expressed the spirit of literary movements, philosophical goals and underlying educational motivations. I remember we once had a Catholic magazine desperately called *Integrity*. It began in the late 1940's, just around the same time I helped found one which was defiantly christened *Today*. It may be a sign of present health that a newer Catholic publication is called *Continuum*. The word "continuum" is defined in the desk dictionary as "something absolutely continuous and homogeneous of which no distinction of content can be affirmed except by reference to something else (as duration)." The movement toward secularity and modernity, seen in a certain way, may, then, represent not a rupture with the "classical culture" but a development—a continuum.

Speaking of the secular state, Jacques Maritain once wrote that "in proportion as the Civil Society, or body politic, has become more perfectly distinguished from the realm of the Church—a process which was in itself but a development of the Gospel distinction between the things that are Caesar's and the things that are God's—the civil society has become grounded on a common good and a common task which are of an earthly, temporal, or 'secular' character, and in which citizens belonging to diverse spiritual groups share equally." Perhaps, *mutatis mutandis,* something like that can also be said of the changing Catholic university.

The Heritage of All

Every university is concerned with the higher learning. Today, the same higher learning is the heritage of all. It has become *mondialized*. I am convinced that, like the contemporary state, it too is now rooted in the secular, the rational, the scientific and a common pluralistic culture. Though it once may have been, the common culture of the world we live in is no longer grounded on Revelation or ecclesiastical foundations. Religion, specifically Christianity, is an important factor in the common culture but it is no longer a presiding principle.

We have no choice but to live by this learning if we hope to act in the real world of the here-and-now.

Long ago I accepted this fact. I recognized, for example, that I personally had become a very "secular" man. The realization caused a certain amount of spiritual uneasiness. For years, I frequently felt misplaced on Sunday morning. Neither the liturgy, the language of the liturgy, nor the sermons I heard seemed to have a vital connection with my daily life. (That is still true, alas.) I felt vaguely guilty about it but did not think of it as creating a crisis-situation for anyone but myself and for people like me.

Then came the day when I realized I no longer felt quite at home on Catholic campuses or at Church-sponsored intellectual gatherings. Generally the style of thought there was different from that found in the intellectual world I actually inhabited; even the language was different from that used in the normal company I kept. Realizing this, I knew a discomfort I was long loathe to acknowledge.

When the time came for my eldest son to go to college, I found myself quite content that he did not choose a Catholic campus. I wondered why and had to face up to the fact that I wanted him prepared for the wider world, even at the cost of missing much of the "classical culture" to which *I* had been exposed. Last June he got his degree from Harvard. In certain ways he received a better education than I did at my Jesuit college. But I also know that from the point of view of the "classical culture" my son's father is still ahead. Still, I have to admit that he is more plugged into the intellectual currents of the times and into the world he will actually live in than I was at his age. It may be significant in this connection, incidentally, that my youthful idealism led me to the Catholic Worker movement, where we talked about an "apostolate"; my son and his young wife are now Peace Corps volunteers in a remote Indian village. They are no less idealistic than we were, but their concerns are strictly "secular."

Even last autumn, a visit to the Vatican seemed something like a visit to a museum. Waiting for an audience with the Pope, surrounded by grown men in silken knee-pants and monsignori decked out in their Renaissance finery, one begins to feel like a super in a grand opera. The opera, to be sure, is still colorful, still romantic, sometimes even exciting. But by 1966, even in Rome, it had become disturbingly unreal. One knew that when the Swiss guards were out of sight, after the chorus of *Viva il Papa* had faded into silence, and the daily pageantry had run its course, one was going to return to the reality of modernity, even though the pensione was less than five city blocks away from Saint Peter's.

Before the Vatican Council, I had been in Rome several times. I had seen elaborate ceremonies and stood with the

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crowds in Saint Peter's Square on high occasions. I had watched Pius XII, John XXIII and finally Paul VI bless the crowds. All three popes used the tell-tale Constantinian formula *urbi et orbi*. In 1963 I had waited in the square for the white smoke to herald the election of a new Pontiff and heard Cardinal Ottaviani intone "Habemus papam—Joannem Baptistam Montini." I had watched the technicolor ceremonies connected with Pope Paul's coronation and joined in the applause when the triple tiara was placed upon his head. The tiara signified that Giovanni Battista Montini was now not only chief bishop of the Church, but the prince of princes, and exercised supreme jurisdiction over kings and emperors. What I did not fully realize until the Council was well under way was that there simply was no contemporary reality behind much of this.

It finally dawned on me that Constantinianism had become one of the games Catholics play.

During the Council, the idea became firmer. It became clear that most of the leading theologians and prelates in Rome were as modernized—or "secularized"—as I. When a Cardinal Ottaviani, a Cardinal Ruffini, or a Bishop Carli seemed to take seriously the presuppositions that would give substance to the rubrics, the elaborate ceremonials and rites carried out in St. Peter's, they were thought to be a trifle absurd. It turned out that most of the Fathers and *periti* were 20th century men wearing 15th century clothes. Behind their verbal endorsement of outmoded formulas and forms was a modern mentality. Most of them by far had a contemporary man's understanding of secular reality. Many of them, it became clear, were as cut off from Bishop Wright's "classical culture" as I. Willy-nilly, they were as committed to modernity as I. Garbed in vestments that may have once been meaningful symbols of the prince-bishop, but are now sheer anachronistic display, they stumbled along in the universal tongue of the "classical culture" that has long since ceased to be universal. Most of them most of the time did their best to give expression not so much to their classicism as to their modernity. It was significant that to state their real concerns, they had to find somewhat-less-than-classical Latin equivalents for such words as airplane, space travel, birth control, nuclear weapons and developing nations.

My earlier realization that the "classical culture" had ceased to be a real factor in life had not been without pain. It was some comfort, then, to realize in Rome that I was not alone.

I discovered, for example, that others also looked elsewhere than to the Church for their actual cultural values, political wisdom, social identification, and a personal link to the future. I learned that leading theologians and many of the best bishops in Rome thought the same way I did. The struggle between these men, the progressives, and the upholders of the romanticized version of modern Christian history—the royal guards of Romanità—was the underlying cause for the battle that raged throughout the Council.

One group repudiated contemporary cultural values, contemporary political experience, and the identity modernity confers, regarding them as expressions of rank "secularism." The other argued for the end of what they believed to be illusion. One of the latter, Father Rahner, wrote that "we still have not awakened from our dream of a homogeneous Christian West."

On the books, the battle of the Vatican Council ended in a series of compromises between the two factions. That much will be evident to future historians who read the decrees of the Council, the debates that preceded them, and the admonitions that followed them. In almost every paragraph in the Council documents, one can hear the slamming of conservative brakes, bringing the logic of the dominant progressives to an abrupt halt.

The compromising spirit is also evident in almost every reform resulting from the Council: vernacular in the liturgy—but a bit of Latin, too; a synod of bishops—but a synod with no legistlative powers; abolition of the Communion fast—except for one vestigial hour; married deacons—but no married priests; simplification of religious habits—but the garb, like the dress of feudal society, must be a "sign" and recognizably anachronistic; endorsement of responsible parenthood—but condemnation of contraception.

> ***"Politically, and philosophically and culturally too, the Church no longer has anything to give the world but memories."***

It *looks*, then, as if the struggle of Vatican II ended in a clean draw. We have episcopal collegiality *and* Apostolic Delegations. We have an Episcopal Synod *and* a Sacred College of Cardinals. We have a glowing endorsement of the significance of the simple priest and of the laity; but neither priest nor layman yet has a real voice in the nomination of bishops or pastors. Now we learn we may be given the choice of attending obligatory Mass on Saturday or Sunday—but deliberately missing Mass is still a mortal sin, deserving of hell fire. Father Du Bay forging ahead has been deprived of his priestly faculties; so has Father DePauw holding back. Webster College went too far in becoming officially a secular institution. St. John's University, which justifies its paternalism by appealing to its charter as a "Catholic" university, has not gone far enough.

The median is the message.

The ideal bishop is supposed to stand somewhere midway between Cardinal McIntyre and Archbishop Roberts. The ideal priest is supposed to stand midway between DePauw and Du Bay. The ideal editor is supposed to stand midway between Robert Hoyt of the *National Catholic Reporter* and Brent Bozell of *Triumph*. The ideal phi-

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losopher is supposed to stand midway between Teilhard de Chardin and the Curial officials who prevented Chardin from publishing. After some contradictory orders, it was finally decided that the middle sound of the guitar might be a happy compromise between the organ and the jazz ensemble. One is reminded of Honor Tracy's Irish pastor who urged his flock to walk the straight and narrow path between truth and falsehood.

On the books right now, we Catholics are desirous of renewal and change, but we seem to prefer being just a little pregnant. In reality, however, I believe that the brakes will be released; the Church *in* the future will reflect the general orientation of the Council progressives. They will be clearly identifiable as the real victors, even though at the moment, to paraphrase Saint Augustine's famous remark, we seem to be praying "Lord, give us modernity—but not yet." For the progressives of the Council began the dismantling of the Constantinian facade and we now see it for the Hollywood set it had become long before the Council. Even the progressives did not go all the way, but they began removing the cultural freight the Church has carried for centuries. That weight, I am convinced, was an illusory burden, though even in its most solemn moments, as in the coronation of a pope, the Church acted as if it had no choice but to bear it.

But at long last, Catholics are being awakened from the "dream" that Father Rahner pointed out and recalled to reality. Like a patient who had lost contact with his true world and carried on as if reality were illusion and illusion reality, we are being drawn out of our unreal existence. The process is painful. Someone has said that the Catholic community is now acting like someone undergoing a nervous breakdown. This may be because the move from illusion to reality is so difficult. The ordeal is nerve-shattering, traumatic.

The illusion I have in mind was strikingly symbolized by that ill-fated triple tiara, with its three rungs indicating that the Pope is head of a Church, of an imperium, and of a civilization. The reality, of course, is that the Church does not serve as the bearer of any actual living culture. Even if emperors and princes were still around, none of them would regard the Sovereign Pontiff as the Supreme Regent of the world. Politically, and philosophically and culturally too, the Church no longer has anything to give the world but memories. At least the world is not prepared to accept anything but memories when the Church moves beyond the boundary of what Father Rahner has called its "vital sphere" of revelation and religion.

It is within this measurement of current reality that I place the future, or non-future, of the Catholic university.

In a now-famous dictum, George Bernard Shaw once said that the words "Catholic university" are a contradiction in terms. Shaw seemed to be indicating that since a university of its nature is dedicated to the pursuit of truth and Catholics believe they already have The Truth in uppercase splendor, Catholic universities exist only to transmit this Truth from one generation to the next. Therefore, the university in Catholic hands is reduced to a propaganda mill, a purveyor of dogma, where alien ideas are forbidden and honest, open-ended consideration of other than the accepted philosophy, the approved theology and frozen Tradition is outlawed.

That this paternalistic conception of the university's role did, and perhaps in some places still does, serve as a kind of presiding academic principle, I would not deny. But even in the distant days when I was attending a Catholic university, there were some who realized that the dogmatic slumbers of certain professors added up to a kind of betrayal of their own vocation and of the university itself. Our better teachers taught us enough about what a university should be to make us suspicious of the "we-have-the-truth" formula. We also learned enough about the faith to know that the Catholic university isn't the Church writ small. We knew even then that in many instances Shaw's remark was an accurate description of the way things actually were. But the contradiction was not intrinsic to the idea of a Catholic university as long as such universities were regarded as custodians of a specific culture.

I have now come to agree however that there is a sense in which the Shavian *mot* is very meaningful. When one considers that the Church has ceased to preside over any actual culture, that Western Christianity has not only been splintered but in the past century has spread far beyond the bounds of the West, and that politics, philosophy, science, literature, the liberal arts, as well as theological speculation itself, are no longer tied to the ecclesiastical apron strings, Shaw's words make a certain kind of sense.

Universities Cannot Play Favorites

I will try to put the case concretely. I think that today every university has a duty to teach its students what Freud had to say, *precisely as Freud wanted to be understood.* It also has the duty to teach its students what Freud's critics had to say, precisely as *they* wanted to be understood. The same goes for Marx, Neitszche, for Hume, Spengler, Wittgenstein, Bertrand Russell, as well as for Saint Thomas, Niebuhr and Sartre. I do not believe that any university, precisely because it is a university, can play favorites among these giants. I do not believe that any university should indoctrinate its students in the teachings of any of them. By the same token, every university is duty-bound to expose its students to the thought of all of them and be committed institutionally to none. At the same time, exponents of all—not just critics—should be found on the same campus—scholastic with pragmatist, Protestant with Catholic, Christian with Jew, secularist with believer, existentialist with Thomist, as in an early day Platonist coexisted with Aristotelian.

This demand can be made on all universities precisely because they are universities. I do not believe that today *any* university can be uncritically committed as an institu-

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tion to a particular philosophy, political system, to any one religion or to anti-religion. By the same token, the university can not exclude from thoughtful consideration any ideology, philosophy, political system or religion which living men of learning, by common agreement, deem worthy of consideration.

Obviously, this means theology belongs in every university—whether it be called Catholic, Protestant, or secular. In a certain sense, then, a "secular" university is as anomalous a term as "Catholic" university.

As Miss Stein might have put it, a university is a university is a university.

It exists to bring all knowledge and respectable speculation under one roof. The university is not a church. It is not an arm of the Church. As Newman reminded us, it is not a seminary, a convent or a monastery. It is not an extension of the pulpit or the parish. It is not a political club, not an ideological boot camp. It is a community of scholars with a purpose and meaning and end of its own —a center of independent criticism. It does not exist either to save souls or to send them to their eternal perdition. It does not exist to preserve society or to revolutionize it. It exists to feed minds, to acquaint students with the best thought of the best thinkers, with as much thoroughness, understanding and empathy as the exponents of those thinkers can summon, and to sponsor dialogue between these exponents. It exists not to strengthen its students' earlier commitments but to make meaningful, informed adult choices possible. In doing so, it does not play with loaded dice.

Obviously, some great minds have addressed themselves to the ultimate questions that are put under the heading of theology. Theology, then, belongs in every university as a recognized discipline. Consequently, to the extent that a "Catholic" university teaches theology, it is a better school than an institution that ignores theology. To the extent that any university favors the particular theology of the Catholic Church, the Protestant Churches or Islam over others, or does not give due weight to their rivals, it fails.

Theology faculties everywhere, then, should be genuinely pluralistic bodies. For the student considering ultimate questions has a right to know *all* the answers offered to these questions, without pre-judgments about truth or falsehood on the part of the institution itself, whatever its teachers believe as individuals.

There are no special Catholic religious or philosophic questions; there are only special Catholic answers. They should be heard in every university. There are also Protestant answers, Jewish answers, Buddhist and Muslim, as well as atheistic and agnostic answers. They should be voiced in every university. When I attended Catholic universities I was not meaningfully exposed to other than Catholic answers—I was steered away from them. I heard them distorted: they were presented out of context. Sometimes they were blandly ignored. I was "protected" by an Index of Forbidden Books and by a galaxy of forbidding professors. I think now that I was cheated. Certainly I was not prepared for the world I was going to live in. Other students attending "secular" schools may have been just as seriously defrauded because theology was denied them: secularism may have been their imperialism as much as Thomism was mine.

In the current issue of *Harper's*, Father Theodore Hesburgh is quoted as saying that the Catholic university "touches the moral as well as intellectual dimension of all the questions it asks itself and its students; it must emphasize the rightful centrality of philosophy and theology among its intellectual concerns. . . . The Catholic university must be a witness to the wholeness of truth from all sources, both divine and human . . . (it) must reflect profoundly, and with full commitment, its belief in the existence of God and in God's total revelation to man." Another unnamed Notre Dame spokesman is quoted in the same article as holding that the goal of the university is "building bridges between the world and the wisdom of the Church."

These are thoughtful, serious statements from learned men deeply involved in a major Catholic university. It takes a certain amount of gall, then, for a journalist to disagree with them. But I do, or I could not anticipate the demise of the "Catholic" university with equanimity.

I could hardly disagree with Father Hesburgh's observation that the moral as well as intellectual dimensions of every question must be considered in the classroom. But

"When I attended Catholic universities I was not meaningfully exposed to other than Catholic answers . . . I think now that I was cheated."

in a university context, the statement strikes me as fairly meaningless. For in that context, the intellectual dimension *includes* the moral dimension. The distinction is logical, not substantive. I find a didactic moralism lurking in the educational goal set forth by Father Hesburgh—a moralism that does not seem to me to belong in any institution of higher learning. One's adult notions of wrong and right, good and evil, proper behavior and bad behavior, derive from one's total apprehension of the "questions" Father Hesburgh notes. The university's job is to make this apprehension possible. It is not the university's job to dictate the terms under which the apprehension is taking place. It is not the university's job to shape the "questions" in such a way that their "moral dimensions" can be isolated and *decreed* rather than intuited by the individual faced with making choices.

Then, I think that when Father Hesburgh speaks of the

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"wholeness of truth"—a proposition with which I personally agree—he is begging a central philosophical question of our time. As a university professor he has every right to hold to this position, as I would if I were a professor, and do with my colleagues at the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions. I do not believe, however, that it should be a commitment of the university as such. At one time, to be sure, it was accepted dogma. Perhaps it gave rise to the very term "university." But that time has passed: the "universe" of the university has expanded.

Furthermore, I do not believe it is within the competence of a university to "give witness" to any proposition currently debated by responsible men. For one thing, the university is simply not in the business of "giving witness" to anything but its own integrity as an institution where no controverted question is dogmatically foreclosed.

Then, one must ask: Can the university-as-such "believe in God"? Are those who do not, or have ceased to, believe excluded from the university community? Moreover, should the university-as-such "reflect that belief in every aspect of its operation?" Here, I realize, is a difficult problem. But if one replies yes, what happens to agnosticism and atheism on such campuses? Should they be outlawed as unworthy of consideration?—are they to be triumphantly confuted?—is the argument settled before it begins?

Saint Thomas begins the Summa with the question: *An Deus Sit?* and takes the question seriously. If a university seriously asks its students the same question (and every university should) can it then carry on as if the question is not a real one, only one answer is intellectually tolerable? "The fool has said in his heart there is no God" is a Biblical judgment. But, like Saint Thomas, the university can not carry on as if all who question God's existence are patently foolish and unworthy of consideration: even the Scriptures are not self-evident.

Finally, Father Hesburgh is quoted as saying that the Catholic university is "*of* the Church but it is not the Church." A university that is "*of* the Church" strikes me as an anomalous concept. It suggests that the Church is the custodian not only of its own special (and limited) wisdom but of all wisdom—that the Church has within its competence to confer on a university what it needs if it is to be a true university. It suggests that the Church is the bearer not only of revealed truth but the arbiter of all truth—that the Church can authoritatively determine the truth not only about what has been revealed but what is known from science, philosophy and the social disciplines. I think this is nonsense both historically and logically. The Church's "wisdom" does not extend that far. Nor do I accept as authentic a university that derives its essential authority from any institution outside itself, including, *pace* Mr. Reagan, the State of California or the Church itself.

The *Harper's* article, it seems to me, makes painfully clear the basic difficulties of a Catholic university that is trying to be both a university and an institution *of* the Church. Today Notre Dame *is* the best Catholic university in the nation. But this is so precisely because, in a certain sense, Notre Dame is the least "Catholic" university, as the *Harper's* article indicates. Its difficulties may arise from the fact that it is stuck with the kind of left-over rationale attributed to Father Hesburgh.

If the rationale were carried to its logical conclusion, Notre Dame would not be a university in the modern sense at all but a seminary. The reason it is even in the running for university "greatness" is that the facts in South Bend do not match the rhetoric of South Bend. And this is becoming increasingly true wherever Catholic education is advancing toward "greatness." If one were to take Father Hesburgh's statements seriously, one might mentally construct an institution that looked more like St. John's than Notre Dame. (I credit the Vincentian administrators of St. John's with a certain consistency in this regard.) But applying the Hesburgh statements to the task at hand will not, I believe, lead to the kind of university Notre Dame aspires to be.

Not Dismantled Either

There *is* a sense in which a modern university can be "of the Church." Just as the individual Christian, rather than the Christian Prince, is now seen as the link between Church and state, so the individual scholar is now the link between the world and the "wisdom of the Church," as well as between the Church and the "wisdom of the world." When I support the—I won't say "secularization", —but "universitizing" of the Catholic university, I do not mean, then, to suggest that places like Marquette should be closed down or that Jesuit scholars be removed from the campus.

Marquette is a towering fact of life in Milwaukee and in the nation. So are a number of other Catholic universities in other communities throughout the land. Running a good university is *in itself* an admirable work. I see no reason, then, why Catholics, making a non-sectarian "secular" contribution to the total community, should not sponsor universities, not "Catholic" universities but universities period. I see no reason why the Society of Jesus, the Congregation of Holy Cross, the Benedictines or any other religious order should not make a contribution to the common—not just the Catholic—welfare by conducting good universities.

The universities under Catholic auspices might take a special interest in Catholic affairs by sponsoring theological institutes emphasizing Catholic theology and theological research. But they should be basically universities period. God knows, we need universities that are truly universities. Any group that adds to their number will have the nation in its debt.

Is it asking too much for Catholics to sponsor universities period, without any overt apostolic or preservation-of-the-faith purposes, with no Revivals, Renascences, and

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Return-to-Tradition cultural imperialism in mind? Is it too much to ask the Society of Jesus or the Congregation of Holy Cross to lend their efforts to sponsoring the dialogue that a genuine university should embody in today's fractured world? The orders will have to answer that question for themselves. But I think that the first place for Catholics to show that they are in earnest about dialogue is in the universities under their control. A university, almost by definition, is a center of dialogue. The educational process at the reaches of higher learning is not didactic but dialogic. Dialogue means that intellectual confrontation is genuine. It is not a set-up, a fixed fight, in which one party or other is inevitably destined for victory. It is universal —all parties are present as equal partners. The dialogue is not an inter-institutional engagement—a kind of Fordham-versus-Columbia College Bowl; it has to take place within the same scholarly community if that community is a true reflection of the pluralistic intellectual society the student will enter as soon as he leaves the cheering gallery.

I want to make it clear then, that I am not hinting that either Marquette or Notre Dame should be dismantled. Nor am I urging that they should be "secularized," if secularization means that religion and theology are to be put outside the scope of their central interest. I am, rather, advocating that they should be pluralized, ecumenized and universalized in order to be transformed into genuine universities in a pluralistic, ecumenical and philosophically many-mansioned world.

In practice this would mean that there would be theologians of all persuasions on hand and anti-theologians as well—not to lend an appealing pluralistic coloring to what would otherwise be a depressingly sectarian institution, not to serve as ecumenical window-dressing, but to reflect the reality of the modern world and the bewildering choices open to the modern man asking his ultimate questions.

The change would not mean that the university Catholic chapel should be closed down. It would mean that Protestant and Jewish places of worship would be added. It would not mean that the orders should abdicate. It would mean that they might preside as administrators or serve as teachers in a university that as such is no more committed to the Order's view of life than Harvard is to the opinions of Nathan Pusey or the University of Chicago was to the ideas of Robert Maynard Hutchins or the University of California is to the views of Ronald Reagan.

CAN THE CHARLES CURRANS BE FREED?

ZEROING IN ON FREEDOM

In light of the dispute concerning Father Charles Curran and Catholic University, the editors decided to ask a number of Catholic scholars to draft a model statement on academic freedom at a Catholic institution of higher learning. We requested that they limit their remarks to the vicinity of 300 words and that their statements be formal and even, if necessary, "legal." The question was framed as follows:

Imagine that you are founding a new Catholic college. The prospective faculty has asked you to draw up a succinct statement of the principles of academic freedom which will be guaranteed in the college. They have also asked that the statement refer specifically to the freedom of research, publication and teaching as it bears on ecclesiastical authority and Catholic orthodoxy. What rights will the faculty have, what are the limits of those rights? Are any distinctions to be drawn between academic freedom in secular disciplines and academic freedom in areas bearing on religion, the Church and Catholic doctrine?

Since the faculty would like the statement to be included in a faculty handbook it should be short, formal and definitive. It is understood that any discussions or disagreements concerning academic freedom will be resolved in the light of this statement.

MARY DALY

All members of the faculty have the right and the responsibility to contribute to the increase and the communication of knowledge within their respective fields of competency. These rights and responsibilities of the faculty imply that they are entitled to freedom in the work of research and in the publication of the results, and in the work of teaching. The common good of the college requires this academic freedom. It also requires the variety of methods, approaches, conclusions and opinions which such freedom engenders.

The right to academic freedom on the part of the faculty is grounded in demonstrated professional competency. Since this is the case, it would be an irresponsible act and an abuse of freedom if the professor habitually were to introduce into his teaching, matter which he is not competent to discuss.

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In the event that a faculty member is seriously accused of introducing controversial material in an irresponsible manner, he is entitled to a hearing by his peers to determine his competency in the matter. This will also hold if the controversial material is theological. In all cases the only persons to be considered capable of passing judgment will be academic peers, not ecclesiastical authorities. The criterion for judging the faculty member will not be religious or political "orthodoxy," but scientific and historical accuracy.

It is understood that competency does not necessarily mean agreement with majority opinion, or with what are generally considered to be the safer, the more orthodox, or the more traditional views, either in theology or in any other academic field.

It is understood, moreover, that the college accepts as members of its faculty only those who have demonstrated their academic competency by the attainment of advanced degrees and/or by advanced research. Therefore, it is understood that this would not normally be called into question.

JOHN TRACY ELLIS

This extremely complex question can hardly be treated adequately in 300 words just as no theoretical statement of principles will ever succeed in avoiding all future tensions over the issue of academic freedom.

Concern about the amount of freedom the faculty will enjoy is altogether understandable, for in no area of life has the concept of the dignity of the human person, which in the words of Vatican Council II, "has been impressing itself more and more deeply on the consciousness of contemporary man," been more sensitively felt than in the world of learning. Furthermore, the history of this matter in Catholic institutions has not been particularly reassuring. Ours is a Catholic college and we accept, therefore, the obligation expressed in the 1940 "Statement of Principles on Academic Freedom and Tenure" of the AAUP that any limitations arising from the institution's religious commitment, "should be clearly stated in writing at the time of the appointment."

No college operates on the basis of absolute freedom. With our sister institutions we share the expectation that faculty members will speak and write, in and out of the college, with the accuracy that the norms of scholarship of their special discipline demands, and that they will reveal appropriate restraint, respect for the opinions of others, and a serious attempt to dissociate themselves from any identification as spokesmen for the college.

The ultimate purpose of every college is the pursuit of truth. As a Catholic institution we accept the defined doctrines of the Church. That is in no way intended to preclude, however, full and open discussion of the circumstances that surrounded their definition, as well as the new approaches and interpretations that have been advanced by reason of the findings of theologians in Newman's sense of the development of doctrine. Beyond that, this college sets no other limitation on academic freedom save that contained in the salutary admonition of the late Cardinal Suhard, that scholars "must not involve any consideration of interest be it even apologetical: you must seek only what is."

ANDREW GREELEY

In my judgment it would be a mistake to attempt to devise a statement of academic freedom for Catholic colleges any different from that contained in the classic statement on academic freedom of the American Association of University Professors. I see no reason why Catholic higher educational institutions cannot accept this statement of academic freedom as it stands, without any qualifications. To attempt any further elaboration on the nature of academic freedom in the Catholic college or university would be, in my judgment, to degrade the schools as American higher educational institutions.

I see no reason why even the teaching of theology cannot be covered by these principles, at least as long as theology is considered an academic discipline and not an attempt at indoctrination. The theological professor who, in the classroom, teaches the subject matter of his discipline accurately, and gives an adequate account of the various solutions to controversial questions, has as much academic freedom, in my judgment, as any other college professor. I would think, however, that part of the problem at the present time is that some Catholic teachers have been inclined to inject their own personal doctrinal and ethical opinions into the academic environment. The theological classroom is no more a place for personal religious opinion than any other classroom, and some of the behavior which I have been informed is taking place at Catholic colleges and universities would not be tolerated at a university like the one with which I am affiliated. Repeated departure in the theology room from the responsible presentation of the subject matter to engage in attacks on the Catholic Church and ecclesiastical organization or to present own personal religious opinion on controversial matters is irresponsible academic behavior. The personal opinions of the professor are not necessarily any concern of the university unless and until he uses the classroom as an occasion to present these personal opinions outside the framework of responsible scholarship. Similarly, the published research of a faculty member, as long as it is solidly documented research, need present no problem to any academic institution. However, if on pretext of scholarly research, a faculty member engages in the expression of personal opinion undocumented by evidence, then the educational institution could quite properly question whether he is the type

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of man who is worthy of promotion.

The point I want to make is that academic freedom is precisely academic. As long as the man is working within the limitations of this discipline in accordance with scholarly procedures and respecting the right of the student to the adequate presentation of the subject matter, he would be no more of a problem of the Catholic university than any other. If he steps out of his subject matter to engage in polemical activity within the classroom, then a Catholic university, as well as any other university, has every right to judge his behavior as irresponsible. The personal opinion of a professor is no particular business of the university as long as he does not try to impose it on his students in the classroom environment.

FRANCIS E. KEARNS

Given the Church's belief in the dignity and rationality of man and given the stress placed by Pope John's *Mater et Magistra* on the connection between the scholarly life and the life of involvement or social action, the duty of preserving academic freedom ought to be an especially serious one for a Catholic university.

It is not the function of a university to establish norms of orthodoxy or to regulate the public expressions or private conduct of its members. We assert our faith in the competence and good will of the community of scholars at large and believe that when the public expressions of a professor are inaccurate or unprincipled they will eventually be exposed as such through the unfettered exchange of views among his professional peers. Professorial abuse of freedom of expression in the classroom will best be left for correction to the opprobrium which such conduct will naturally incur in a genuinely free academic community, though flagrant abuse may become grounds for formal censure or impeachment by the university senate. Since the risk of tenuring a few mediocre professors is preferable to risking the freedom of younger faculty by attaching a probationary period to tenure, tenure will be conferred automatically and permanently on any scholar selected by the senate for membership in the faculty.

We believe that academic integrity and intellectual inquiry cannot be compartmentalized and therefore recognize no distinction in the guarantees of academic freedom as applied to secular disciplines or to those dealing with religion and doctrine. A professor, whether lay or religious, owes his primary loyalty to freedom of inintellectual inquiry. Should Church discipline or teaching conflict with such freedom, then it is the responsibility of ecclesiastical authority to accommodate the Church to the university, not the university to the Church.

Attempts to regulate or restrict conduct in a university community are justifiable only after authorization by the senate and only when such conduct interferes with the civil liberties or academic freedom of other members of the community. Any member of the university who feels that his academic freedom has been restricted shall have full access to academic due process, including assistance of the campus ombudsman, the right to a public hearing, and the right of appeal to the Academic Freedom Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union or to any other group recognized by the senate as an agency of binding arbitration.

ROSEMARY LAUER

St. Theophilus College, aware of its history as a Catholic institution and wishing to retain, insofar as sound academic policy and religious ecumenism warrant, the bonds of affection and mutual concern which have existed between the college and the Catholic Church nevertheless acknowledges that no genuine academic freedom is possible in an institution of learning which does not enjoy autonomy in determining its educational policies. Accordingly, the Board of Trustees of St. Theophilus College, composed of civic leaders, professional educators and members of the faculty and administration of the college, is constituted as an independent body, subject only to the limitations of the college charter and the college statutes.

St. Theophilus College, since its reorganization in 1967, has no juridical ties with the Catholic Church; that is, it is not subject to any form of diocesan or Curial ecclesiastical control and stands entirely outside the ambit of Canon Law. Members of the Society of St. Theophilus who serve as members of the Board of Trustees, as administrators or as members of the faculty do so as individuals and not in any sense as representatives of the Society. Membership in the Society is not a requirement for holding any office in the college, nor is membership in the Catholic Church.

St. Theophilus College subscribes to the 1966 revision of the American Civil Liberties Union's "Statement of Principles Concerning the Civil Liberties and Obligations of Teachers and Desirable Procedures Involving Academic Freedom in Public and Private Colleges and Universities." Realizing that a truly vital academic atmosphere is not compatible with censorship, the college claims no exemptions from these principles in favor of its Catholic predilections. Recognizing the distinction between theological inquiry and evangelical preaching, and recognizing its own incompetence to distinguish between "orthodox" and "unorthodox" religious doctrine, the college guarantees to its department of theology all those freedoms which are assured to other departments. St. Theophilus College imposes no restrictions on the content of any teaching, whether theological, moral, or political.

Because the academic community, by its very nature, is society's critic, the college must expect, from time to time, to incur the disapprobation of the ecclesiastical, po-

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litical, social and economic establishments. St. Theophilus College accepts its role as social critic and pledges to faculty and students that all policy determinations will be made in accordance with the requirements of academic freedom and never in servile submission to anti-intellectual pressures. To act otherwise would be to undermine the college itself and to betray its faculty, its students and the society which needs its criticism.

JUSTUS GEORGE LAWLER

General Norms. 1. At St. X, controversy relating to academic freedom will be regarded by the institution as a sign of intellectual health, and the teacher in question will be regarded, until judged otherwise by his peers, as having displayed by the very fact of his being controversial a commitment to his scholarly discipline.

2. No distinction is made between religious and secular disciplines.

3. Interference by externs, whether civil or ecclesiastical, in adjudicating conflicts over academic freedom will not be tolerated.

4. The accused will have the right to counsel.

5. The cost of all proceedings relating to the conflict will be borne by the institution.

Particular Norms. 1. We distinguish between (a) the role of instructor and scholar, and (b) the public role of a citizen. With regard to 1 (a) further: (i) we distinguish between (a) speculation, and (b) advocacy; and (ii) we distinguish between (a) speech, and (b) conduct.

2. Alleged infringements relating to (b) in all three points fall within the scope of the ordinary regulations governing our society; they do not come under the rubric "academic freedom," and therefore are not subject to St. X jurisdiction.

Values to Be Maintained in Adjudicating Conflicts. 1. The right of the teacher. 2. The good of the intellectual community in general. 3. The good of St. X in particular. 4. The good of civil society as represented by the lay public. Finally, other things being equal, the right of the teacher is overriding.

Process of Adjudication. 1. Representatives of the intellectual community in general are the best judges.

2. Representatives of the St. X faculty are the next best judges.

3. The lay public is the least qualified to pass judgment.

4. This hierarchy flows directly from the preceding hierarchy of values to be maintained; it is based on the clear principle that though the right of the teacher is preeminent, no man can sit in judgment on his own case.

5. The secondary position given the St. X faculty seeks to diminish the effect of possible local prejudice.

Selection of Ten Judges. 1. Three specialists in the accused's own particular discipline shall be chosen from the faculties of three different universities; two specialists in two other disciplines shall be chosen from the faculties of two other universities.

2. Two members of the accused's department, and one member of another department shall be chosen from the faculty of St. X.

3. Two members of the board of trustees of St. X shall be chosen, as representing the lay voice.

4. If representatives mutually acceptable to the accused and to the administration cannot be agreed upon, the determination shall be made by lot from a mutually acceptable list of names.

5. Administrators of St. X cannot be represented on this tribunal since they are acting as prosecutor.

6. The chairman of the tribunal shall be presiding officer, and shall be determined by simple majority vote.

Judgment. 1. Hearings shall be public or private as the accused requests.

2. A simple majority shall determine guilt and the penalties to be imposed.

3. In case of deadlock, the accused shall be assumed innocent.

4. No appeal from judgment can be made by the litigants to a superior tribunal.

NEIL G. McCLUSKEY

The privileges and responsibilities of scholarship belong to each discipline within the university structure, including theology. It is the prerogative and duty of the scholar to put forth the fruits of his scholarship into the academic marketplace to be examined, tested, modified, accepted or rejected by his peer group. This body alone can appropriately challenge or approve because it has earned authority and competence in the same field of learning. The very justification for the *science* of theology in the curriculum as an academic discipline is precisely that it is not *catechesis* and, therefore, not directly subject to the *magisterium* or teaching authority of the Church.

Intelligent analysis and responsible discussion of Catholic dogma and official pronouncements of the Holy See on issues of faith and morals in the classroom are encouraged. However, part of the responsibility of the teacher is to be aware of the background and level of maturity of his auditors, so that opinions which call in question principles of Catholic faith and morals are to be presented with the same careful balance that is expected in the presentation of delicate and controversial questions in other academic disciplines. At least the same freedom for the professor is recognized in the case of scholarly publications. Allegations of serious and consistent departure from these norms on the part of a faculty member, lay or clerical, fall within the purview of the university's permanent Committee on Academic Freedom

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and will be judged according to the standards and procedures detailed in the *Faculty Handbook*.

The university finds no incompatibility between the above statements and its acknowledgement of and respect for the teaching authority of the Church, legitimately wielded by the local bishop who, by reason of his office, has a valid concern for the totality of Christian living. Yet because of its charismatic character, this authority is always exercised outside the formal structure of the university.

EDWARD MANIER

The responsibilities of the faculty member are such as to require full freedom in research, publication and discussion of his subject in the classroom. His primary responsibility to his subject is to seek and state the truth as he sees it. His primary responsibility to his students is to present them with the methods, evidence and conclusions of his discipline and to encourage them in the free pursuit of learning. His responsibility to his colleagues is to be accurate and respectful in the open exchange of criticism and ideas. As an informed citizen of the community, he has the duties of a citizen to speak and act responsibly on issues of institutional and public policy and morality.

These responsibilities require that the individual faculty member be free from interference by political or ecclesiastical authority, or by the administrative officers of this institution, unless his methods are found incompetent or contrary to professional ethics after a hearing by members of his profession.

Tenure. After a probationary period not to exceed five years (if the faculty member has had experience at another institution, the probationary period may be shortened or waived) the faculty member has continuous tenure, and can be dismissed only for serious cause. A probationary faculty member has the same academic freedom as a tenured member of the faculty.

Dismissal for serious cause is defined as dismissal for one of the following: professional incompetence or neglect of academic duties, conviction of a felony, or causing notorious and public scandal.

A faculty member faced with formal charges which could lead to his dismissal may request a hearing before a committee of tenured members of the faculty, selected by the faculty. The hearing committee, following procedures which protect the rights of the accused, reports to the Board of Trustees. The Board ordinarily accepts the hearing committee report, and will reject it only under unusual circumstances and for reasons communicated to the faculty.

(The relation of teaching and research to Catholic orthodoxy should not be allowed to complicate or specify the statement of academic freedom. Nor is this problem to be evaded. It may be met by a succinct prefatory statement of the general goals of the institution: "In general, this university is guided by a deep conviction of the worth and dignity of all knowledge, and in particular that to be gained through the investigation of man's relation to God, the cultivation of all religious studies, and the examination and understanding of the Catholic faith and the Judaeo-Christian tradition. The faculty, the administration, and the board of trustees share the responsibility for a clear articulation of the particular educational goals of this university.")

THOMAS MOLNAR

1. Academic freedom, like any other freedom, is not an absolute. The concept must include (a) the right of any group to found an institution promoting and safeguarding the objectives of that group; (b) a reasonable assessment of the term in the contemporary context.

2. The Catholic Church is not a "freak" in an otherwise orderly and harmonious secular world but, on the contrary, she is the chief inspirer of that world's best values. We need not take any extra steps to "integrate" Catholic universities into the world of higher education and scholarship; by being Catholic, a university may (or may not) be on the same level of competence as other universities; but its teaching of the Church's doctrine and morality puts it by definition on a higher level in *these* matters.

3. In addition to other courses, a Catholic university offers those which are dictated by the teaching magisterium of the Church. Professors who disagree with established Catholic dogmas, doctrine, morality, discipline, etc. have no place in a Catholic university.

4. All other courses of the curriculum must also give a prominent place to the Church's views on the matter.

MARY DALY *teaches theology at Boston College.*

RT. REV. JOHN TRACY ELLIS *is Visiting Professor of Roman Catholic Studies at Brown University.*

FATHER ANDREW GREELEY *is a sociologist with the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago.*

FRANCIS E. KEARNS *is in the Department of English at Hunter College.*

ROSEMARY LAUER *will be joining the faculty at St. John's College, Annapolis.*

JUSTUS GEORGE LAWLER *teaches at St. Xavier's College in Chicago.*

FATHER NEIL G. MC CLUSKEY, S.J., *is Visiting Professor at Notre Dame University.*

EDWARD MANIER *is co-editor of* Academic Freedom and the Catholic University *(Fides).*

THOMAS MOLNAR *teaches in the Department of Modern Languages at Brooklyn College.*

GORDON ZAHN *teaches sociology at Loyola University in Chicago.*

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Yet, the professor should be free to present all pertinent views tested by scholarship and research (excluding merely fashionable, trivial or obscene views). He should make every effort, however, to arrive at prudential judgments in the spirit of the Church's teaching.

5. Today's youth is exposed to the confusing winds of many ideologies. Freedom in a Catholic university does not consist in offering youth a one-way ticket to the supermarket of ideas but in leading this youth to at least a correct understanding of the Catholic position on all matters.

6. In case of disagreement between the university authorities and the individual professor, the latter should be entitled to appear before a panel of ecclesiastical and lay officials of the university, as well as men competent in the particular field. Failure, on the professor's part, to conform to points (3), (4) and (5) should be considered as the equivalent of incompetence in courses such as geography, chemistry, etc., and may be cause for dismissal or removal from the teaching position. In judging the professor's conduct and teaching, the criterion next to scholarly competence should be his sincere effort to avoid causing scandal. Self-styled heroes, popularity seekers among impressionable youth are to be judged as severely as the incompetent scholar.

GORDON ZAHN

Any academic institution worthy of the name, Catholic as well as public, must be first and always a community of scholars in pursuit of knowledge. This means every guarantee of freedom must be provided in intellectual inquiry, in open exchange of ideas, and in research and publication efforts. The fact that an individual is admitted to a position of teaching or research responsibility within such a community should imply a judgment that he has established his worth in terms of scholarly competence, personal integrity, and sincere commitment to truth. Of course, the pursuit of knowledge being what it is, error will often be the product of the scholar's effort; that is a matter for others within his own discipline to discover and correct. Except where such errors are repeated or consistent enough to disprove the original assumption of competence, the only valid grounds for expelling a member of the academic community must relate to clearly established violations of integrity and scholarly commitment.

Unfortunately, human beings being what *they* are, this has occurred in the past and will undoubtedly continue to do so in the future. Medical science, for instance, has been known to ignore the limits set by respect for the physical and spiritual dignity of its subjects—often enough, and not altogether unrelated to this, to the debasement of the researcher and his science as well. Similarly, studies or writings deliberately designed to subvert the legitimate ends of the good society or to destroy (or exploit) the religious faith of those exposed to them can result from improper use of the methods or techniques of the social sciences and the humanities. Where such things occur, they clearly constitute a violation of the responsibilities of the offender, not only as a scholar but also as a citizen and, even more, as a man.

In such cases, the offense can merit expulsion from the academic community; but such cases should be rare and, even then, subject to rigorous procedural limitations. The individual so charged must be informed of the precise nature of the charges and their source. He must be given the option of having the charges heard by a committee of scholars from outside his own academic community (with no more than a simple plurality drawn from his own discipline); and their decision must either be ratified or rejected by his faculty colleagues (at least the tenured faculty) before the university administrators act upon it. The action, when taken, should be final and irreversible, although subsequent reinstatement of the offender may be considered if circumstances warrant and appropriate safeguards can be introduced to lessen the likelihood of any recurrence of the offense. Beyond that, the only remaining appeals would be to some body outside the specific academic community—perhaps to the AAUP (in questions bearing upon procedural requirements) or to regular courts of law (if the substance of the charges themselves remains at issue).

No formula is perfect. Injustices would still occur, and offenses still go unchallenged and unpunished. However, should one be forced to choose, it is better that the risk be taken in the latter direction than that the scholar and his work become too vulnerable to the interests or whims of arbitrary authority, whether such abuse originate within the academic community itself or from some other agency or establishment on the outside.

VOYEURISTIC VAUDEVILLE

THE STAGE

In the days when sweeping pronouncements were more fashionable, there was an unwritten law of playwriting which applied to quotations from Shakespeare: (1) classy for titles, but (2) chancy in dialogue . . . especially when characters have undergone some shattering experience and, a minute or two before final curtain, feel compelled for benefit of audience consumption to underline the Significance Of It All.

No Bardophobe he, John Herbert, author of *Fortune And Men's Eyes,* goes whole hog in this department, devising a climax and denouement which depend heavily on two overwrought actors reading in tandem the total

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sonnet alluded to in the title. And that, mind you, close on the heels of an aborted delivery of Portia's famous soliloquy in which, disguised as a man, she seeks to prevent a commerce of flesh with an appeal to the quality of mercy. In Mr. Herbert's play that speech is delivered in double drag by a young male prisoner named Mona, who proposes, as a contribution to his fellow-inmates' Christmas entertainment, to risk playing a woman playing a man . . . that deeply does he feel the pertinence of Shakespeare to his own desperate situation. He never makes it. But the double theme of flesh and mercy acquires in the process a new context . . . as does the love sonnet involved, which has been among those used by adherents of the "Mr. W. H." and similar theories to "prove" Shakespeare was homosexual.

The unpretty world this play presents almost seems like Marx, as revised by Krafft-Ebing. It details what psychologists are nowadays pleased to call the "dynamics of interpersonal relationships" among a group of four prisoners assigned to the same dormitory cell in a Canadian penal institution. They battle for survival and identity with the only commodity a claustrophobic, soulless world permits them to traffic in: their own bodies. In a walled-in world they thrive on cannibalism because they are too crippled to be capable of communion. Mona, who can see this truth with terrible clarity, tries for the sake of sweet sanity to divorce his purity of spirit from the brutalization of his body. But this brand of passive resistance is doomed to defeat because the intellectual stance also involves a sexual one. Alienation does not preclude physical contact. Quite the contrary. Since it impoverishes all other possibilities of human congress, it exalts the physical out of all proportion and at the same time makes it meaningless. Stone walls may not a prison make, nor iron bars a cage; but that's small comfort in a world where existentially we create our own private hells and prisons, while a sick society legislates them into norms.

Mr. Herbert's writing has a forthright ring and the kind of small, spelled-out truths which can only be born of personal acquaintance—and anguish—with the material at hand. On occasion he can produce good dialogue and create impressive moments, even if the larger structure does tend to stumble. But given all that it has going for it, the play falls short, unfortunately in ways that its basic honesty should have insured against. This is not Shakespeare's fault, and only partially the author's. A major dislocation in the script permits a subsidiary (or, at best, co-equal) character to dominate the first two-thirds of the action with a barrage of gay gags and campy turns that drives all else into the wings. Queenie, played with great relish and deadly accuracy by Bill Moor, introduces an element of voyeuristic vaudeville sufficient unto itself which continually undercuts and throws out of kilter the seriousness of theme and intent. It's rather like casting Mae West as Gertrude and then asking us to take Hamlet's problems to heart. By the time Queenie, done up in several shades of shocking pink, minces off to repeat a female impersonation with which onstage he has just stopped the show, the drama dissipates in a burleycue haze. Mood and temper have been thrown awry and motivations, badly fuzzed. Thus, the all-important last scene with its Shakespearean reading has two strikes against it even before it starts.

Another difficulty in balance and proportion grows out of the relentless, unremitting detail which creates so sharp a focus close up that it ultimately blurs the larger view of the wasteland. Ibsen once declared that Zola went down into sewers to take a bath, but he went down to clean them up. Mr. Herbert just seems to be stuck there, waist-high in muck, with his tape recorder running. Aside from pat, capsulized case-history backgrounds, we don't get that much insight into the prisoners' other dimensions. Surely once in a while they must talk about something else, even if only the weather. Without faulting the theatre's newfound freedom of expression, there's still something to be said for older disciplines of playwriting whereby sexual disturbance in characters like Hedda Gabler had to be portrayed in terms of how it affected other aspects of their lives.

The most grievous disproportion of all, however, lies in the production itself. The excess of choreographed violence—with its pulled punches, blunted kicks in the groin and Jerome Robbins haymakers that raise nothing but wind—is objectionably phony and slick. The theatre workshop sponsoring this play calls itself *The Little Room:* it ought to realize that this accurately describes their playhouse and scale down effects accordingly. The problem perhaps lies deeper. We are living in the theatrical aftermath of *West Side Story* and the Actor's Studio, an unholy alliance between Freud and Verdi which has sired a mess of stage clichés that are beginning to sound and look as campy as Thirties movies. There is so much gratuitous leaping, whooping and hollering one almost suspects he is witnessing a black-comedy rewrite of *Brother Rat.* In a McLuhan world this may sound like archaic carping, but actors shouldn't be encouraged to

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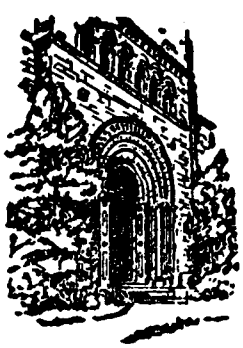

Prospective students should make early application

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work themselves into such frenzy that they swallow their lines . . . especially not when it's most crucial to see how what they are saying stacks up against what they are doing. (*At the Actors Playhouse*)

In one of the early Marx Brother movies, Groucho, as an explorer, presents his hostess for the weekend with an immense granite sarcophagus, adding by way of modest disclaimer that he just whipped it up with the white of an egg. Just such an unlikely conglomeration of the light and leaden characterizes *Harold* and *Sondra,* two new plays by Frederick Feirstein. Their thematic material is familiar enough: alienation and aggression in the modern world. Unintentionally, this work inspires its audience to react in the same way. It's a frantic evening all told: the director, perhaps aware of the script's deficiencies overcompensates for them by calling attention to his own. Sympathy ran high for Harold's visiting mother when, shortly after dense cigarette smoke causes him to puke over her pizza, she cried, "I had to come a thousand miles for this?" (*At the Provincetown Playhouse*)

RICHARD BIMONTE

BEE-IN

THE SCREEN

It depends, I suppose, on what you like. Movie goers who enjoy well-acted, handsome, somewhat sophisticated films should swarm around "The Honey Pot." Directed and written by Joseph L. Mankiewicz, it has many of his usual touches: some slick cinema, some bright, witty dialogue nicely put over by his good cast, and a loopholey plot that doesn't bear too close scrutiny.

The story starts as a present-day version of "Volpone." In fact, the movie itself begins with a scene from the Ben Jonson play on the stage of a beautiful Venice theater where fabulously wealthy Cecil Fox (Rex Harrison) is the sole spectator. Then Mr. Fox hires William McFly (Cliff Robertson) to come and live in his elegant Venetian palazzo and be his secretary and assistant in the fiendish joke he is playing on three ex-mistresses. He will invite the three women (two Americans and a princess yet) to his palazzo, pretend to be dying, and watch them jockey into position with him and in his will. So the women arrive, and are stylishly gowned and stylishly played by Capucine as the cool, calm princess, Edie Adams as happy-go-lucky, one-time Hollywood star, and Susan Hayward as a tough, determined-to-win widow who also happens to be a hypochondriac and is accompanied by her nurse (not stylishly gowned but expertly portrayed by Maggie Smith).

By now "The Honey Pot" is half over and, although you may be admiring the stunning color photography of Venice and the interiors, and the fine performances of this cast, you suddenly realize this is one of the talkiest pictures ever made. Very good talk it is with plenty of snappy repartee; even though the "Volpone" situation is quite obvious, it plays a double purpose in revealing character. But then Mankiewicz, who is full of surprises, switches from this stagey, theatrical technique and swings into action. One of the "girls" is found dead, and the next morning her body is moved into a gondola on the canal. And later another dead body is transfered to another gondola on the canal. And so, is "The Honey Pot" a murder mystery? Not really. But the last part of the film is so entertaining I wish Mankiewicz had either made the first half move faster or had later cut some of its static scenes. But I wouldn't have anything cut from the last part—when the story's ironies are underlined; when Harrison's Fox, whose secret ambition is to be a ballet dancer, does his stuff to the "Dance of the Hours"; when Maggie Smith steps out of her drab role and steals the whole picture; and when Adolfo Celi comes on as an Italian police inspector who is not a caricature but a wise, thoughtful man. Even though its plot cannot bear minute analysis, "The Honey Pot" has enough bitter-sweet satire and chi-chi to draw customers.

"The Deadly Bees" (which must by no means be confused with "The Honey Pot") may impress customers more as a tactile or kinesthetic experience than a visual one. This is a British film about an overtired young singer (Suzanna Leigh) who is sent to a farm on a lonely island to recover her health. What happens to the poor girl there should drive her completely nuts. The host at the inn where she is staying keeps bees; and so does a nearby neighbor. But one of them has bees that have a deadly sting and can be used as a weapon against humans. That was all I needed. I stayed to the end, because Frank Finlay is in the movie and he's a very good actor. But every time the bees, the nice ones or the bad ones, began swarming around, I found my skin and muscles beginning to crawl; and as the murder mystery got more and more involved with the deadly bees doing their dirty deeds, my skin and muscles worked overtime. Finlay and the bees gave fine performances, but I was exhausted. I must add that the overtired young singer bounces away in perfect health after her trying days on the farm. That's youth for you.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG

AN APPEAL—Mother M. Elisabeth (see our December 23 issue) is trying to combat the severe famine in Bihar by giving well-digging and other useful work to 100 destitute laborers. She also needs funds to feed "the blind, crippled, sick and old, who are not fit for any work." International money orders from U.S. post offices are delivered in three weeks: Mother M. Elisabeth, Ursuline Convent, P.O. Gumla, Ranchi Dt., Bihar, India.

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BOOKS

Is there really an LBJ?

LBJ: A Foreign Observer's Viewpoint

MICHAEL DAVIE

Duell, Sloan & Pearce, $2.95

Lyndon B. Johnson and the World

PHILIP L. GEYELIN

Praeger, $5.95

Lyndon B. Johnson: The Exercise of Power

ROWLAND EVANS & ROBERT NOVAK

New American Library, $7.95

FRANK GETLEIN

Sometime between the end of 1964 and the end of 1966, the real Lyndon Johnson stood up and he should have stayed seated.

If polls are to be believed, the man who rolled up the largest presidential majority in history has managed, within two years of that achievement, to become, for over half the populace, the man you love to hate. He has done this, moreover, without any great change in himself. Mr. Hyde was in command all the time, not Dr. Jekyll, but apparently people used to like Hyde and now they don't.

The radical left, if there really is such a thing, tends to blame it all on Vietnam. The people want peace and their President has given them war and more war and no vision of the end of war and therefore they have turned their backs on Lyndon B. Johnson. The theory fits in with radical leftist preoccupations but not at all with those of the people at large. Most Americans are sick of the war in Vietnam, but sick chiefly because it doesn't seem to be going anyplace.

From a radical leftist point of view the most dangerous thing about the relation between President and people is that his popularity rating moves up considerably every time he hauls back and lets the enemy have it. The rating declines when, as happens most of the time, the war just drags along. The people want peace—the people always do—but they probably want it following victory. If, as seems to be the informed consensus, the Vietnam war is the kind of war in which there isn't any victory, then that can be blamed on Johnson, but not, certainly not, the fact of fighting in the first place.

The Republicans, operating in exactly the style of the radical left, attribute the decline in Johnson's fortunes to the Great Society and the avalanche of legislation that poured out of Johnson's 89th Congress. The people are appalled at what they have wrought and are drawing back from it in horror, disowning it, disavowing it, and blaming it all on the man they elected so overwhelmingly. The Republicans are close to the truth in the same way the radical left is to its own truth: that is, close but not on it. Again, the Great Society was in the works and in the air before the election of 1964, as well as after. The returns that year could easily have been read as a mandate for just the sort of legislative program that has been forthcoming. Indeed they were so read, not so much by the President as by the punditry and the radical left.

The Democratic governors, in caucus assembled, have recently struck a little closer to what is probably the truth about popular views of the domestic scene. The wounded governors' complaint can be summed up in the immortal words of William Hines writing about NASA: that the Administration goes in for vast plans carried out in a half-vast manner. The war on poverty, like the war in Vietnam, is not at all antipathetic to the voters. But they would like to see a little progress and there is precious little to see. All through the 89th Congress, the rabbits kept jumping out of the silk hat, but as the time arrived for a dinner of rabbit stew, there turned out to be chaos in the kitchen.

The three books at hand all explore that interesting situation. The two serious ones, those by Geyelin and by Evans and Novak, provide reasons to spare for the change in Johnson's standing with the people. The reasons are about the same in both books and they give serious pause to the theory, accepted so widely so recently, that effective power in this country has passed from the state houses to the Senate.

The third book, by Michael Davie, is a caricature of what people mean when they dismiss a work as "journalism." It's the wrong word. The other two books, the good ones, are by journalists who work at their trade. Davie is more of a thumb-sucker, with historical background by the quart and plenty of thoughts about how LBJ carries on the populist tradition and Andrew Jackson and the Revolution itself. Sure he does. Davie's book may have been hot stuff in the London *Observer,* of which he is deputy editor, but it's no book on Johnson.

Philip L. Geyelin is a Washington correspondent for the *Wall Street Journal* and a good one. His book chronicles in great detail the mutual effects upon each other of Johnson and those nations that are not the United States. The trouble with Johnson's conduct of our foreign affairs, as it emerges from Geyelin's close reading of the history, is that he doesn't quite believe there are nations fully not the United States. Red China, perhaps, but even that ought to be susceptible to American political tactics if you could only find the right combination of carrots and sticks. Geyelin concludes that foreign problems are mostly not susceptible to cure by consensus and Johnson's whole style, derived from his Senate career, is based profoundly on the idea of consensus. The book is essential to anyone interested in what has happened to the United States in world

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affairs since November, 1963, in what is likely to happen and in why these things can be.

The Evans and Novak book is also first-rate journalism, the kind that is hard to distinguish from scholarship except for the quality of the writing, which is better than that of most scholars. Theirs is "a political biography" of a totally political man. They present a complete account of the political life from the arrival in Washington at the end of the New Deal to the arrival at the White House at the end of the New Frontier, and it is complete.

The authors have taken great pains to understand and to make understandable the system Johnson developed to run the Senate. Consensus is the spirit. The means are somewhat disappointing, being essentially those of any fully committed salesman: the remembrance of anniversaries, the word of praise, the automatic handling of the tiniest detail so as to gain however small a political advantage, the accumulation, through these rather corny methods, of widespread political debts, the judicious and sparing demand for payment on any of them.

This is the way the world is run. It would appall any new leftist, but the awful truth is that sending sick senators flowers, remembering their birthdays and complimenting them on speeches adds up to more political power than lying on the floor of a registrar's office.

It is, however, only the way the world is run in the Senate. Outside the Capitol there is a whole real world that doesn't react the same way influential Senators do to what Evans and Novak call The Treatment by Johnson. The bureaucracy doesn't. The state and city governments don't. Allies don't. Hostile nations certainly don't.

And that is why we are where we are and why Johnson may just possibly not run in 1968 or, if he does, fail of reelection.

All of which brings us to the theory of the Senate as the new seat of national power and mother of presidents. The power revolution will not take place as scheduled. The theory may now be seen as part—a small part, to be sure—of the Camelot vision conjured up by Administration historians during the first Kennedy regime. The use of power is different from the brokerage of power and it is the latter that characterizes the Senate. John F. Kennedy did not base his presidency on his Senate career because there wasn't any, really. All that was a case of mistaken identity. Johnson, in contrast, was the soul of the Senate. In the new body the Senatorial soul has continued its operation of consensus-seeking, cajoling and compromising and it just does not apply.

As of the moment the main conclusion to be drawn from the Johnsonian years is that the founding fathers were wiser than they imagined. The separation of powers is more than a precaution. It is an inescapable fact.

The Accidental President

ROBERT SHERRILL

Grossman, $5

JONATHAN EISEN

After a while one really begins to wonder about Lyndon Baines Johnson, all the slander notwithstanding. Now Robert Sherrill has taken up the sledge for another round and has written a devastating, if quite tasteless, demolition. Evans and Novak, the new positivists, were as slick as their topic; Sherrill, Washington correspondent for *The Nation*, writes as one embattled, a partisan who has defined the enemy and can do without inside dopesterism having done some homework on a Johnson that former biographers and assorted critics and sycophants have neglected.

Sherrill has written, he tells us, to help us "enjoy" the President better through a fuller understanding of what he has been up to all these years. One finishes the book sick at heart, weary, embittered: Johnson is worse than we had imagined.

According to Sherrill, Johnson has existed solely to aggrandize his own wealth and power, has successfully exploited McCarthyism when it served him in the Leland Olds case and has worked to eviscerate liberal programs whenever he was able. He is depicted

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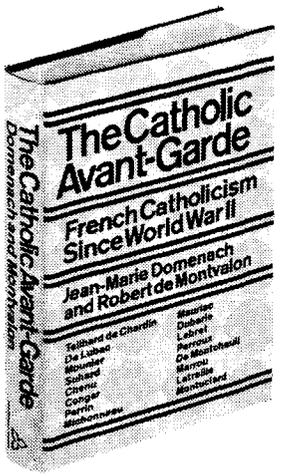
— MICHAEL NOVAK



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as the representative of Big Business, a fiscal conservative whose monetary policies have hurt the poor far more than his war on poverty has helped them. More than a follower of trends, Johnson is closer to the Republicans than he is to members of his own party; even after the 1958 election which produced a spectacular Democratic majority Johnson refused to inaugurate or sponsor any meaningful liberal legislation, pushing his "Program with a Heart"—the main beneficiary of which were the Texas gas and oil interests, Johnson's putative backers since 1948.

The familiar vote-stealing episode is dutifully recounted as are some of the Texas infighting episodes in which Senator Johnson led the battle against the party liberals. Sherrill makes the convincing point that Johnson's reputation as a master politician has been largely overrated and uses his convention failures as proof. In another irony to the Assassination saga, Sherrill shows how futile was Kennedy's peacemaking trip: the divisions even then between the liberals, led by Senator Yarborough, and the conservatives, led by Johnson, were irreconcilable.

Even the Myth of the Great Party Man is exploded as Johnson emerges in *The Accidental President* as a totally self-serving pol. He never campaigned for Stevenson in either presidential election, and according to Sherrill was credited by the Republicans for having handed them the state for Ike in 1952, winning conservative friends who would later boost his candidacy for President.

Despite his endorsement of the civil rights cause ("We shall overcome"), Johnson is shown as an accomplice of southern racism, his renowned 1957 civil rights bill described as so tepid that every southern Senator but one supported it. Subsequent Johnson backing came only to legislation which replaced meaningful possibilities for civil rights advancement. Johnson's hasty retreat after the 1966 debacle for the liberals serves to reinforce the argument that he has never stuck his neck out for a liberal cause, espousing instead the safe ground of conservatism, anti-communism and pork-barrel, the American political Trinity, while successfully keeping up the liberal rhetoric.

Most astonishing, though, are Sherrill's declamations that the Vietnam war was cooked up by Johnson in order to maintain "prosperity." Citing Johnson's connections with Texas millionaire George Brown, Sherrill goes on to build a fantastic theory of an incredibly devious President who has, single-handed, bamboozled the entire country while neatly carving up the contracts for a war which can be kept simmering for years; and at the same time creating a safety valve for potential ghetto uprisings. Everything fits for Sherrill, and that is the trouble: this connection leads to that policy, this oil man paid off for such and such and the deal was landed; everything is for profit and Johnson is merely a supremely calculating front man for the huge conspiracy known to its detractors as nasty capitalism.

Unfortunately, while it is nice to have our visceral feelings about Johnson documented, he is far less aberrant than his critics paint him; moreover when he does evil it is usually his flagrancy that affronts us. While Kennedy had Arthur Schlesinger, Johnson has George Christian. But which is worse? We are, with Sherrill, afraid of Johnson's capacity for unreason, we think he is mad—at least potentially—while forgetting those tremulous three days when his predecessor had us thinking the Apocalypse was at hand. Conspiracy theories like Sherrill's, though plausible to a certain extent, tend to miss the much larger point which is how Johnson had been able to exploit the system so effectively. Of course Johnson is a *parvenu,* untutored boor, a rank purchaser of people with an El Caudillo approach to the poor. But is his personality really at issue? Should we not be thinking as well of the nature of his constituencies which he has played like a cello for thirty years, and of his congressional colleagues who have, with few exceptions, permitted his excesses and duplicities?

We are asked to excoriate Johnson for warping the public morality, bribing the innocent and filching from the community till. And we properly do, rising to heated levels of proper indignation. But our indignation is a mannered response, gratifying because Johnson enables us to rise above him, and we feel all the better because this infuriates him. But what about people like Gonzales and all the other former "radicals" who have been bought and paid for by the arch-wheeler-dealer? It is not hard to land on Johnson's putative psychoses, but it takes more than one to make a card game and we have all more or less asked to be dealt in. Now we stand with Sherrill as people who know they have been dealt with.

Sherrill believes that Johnson as *homo politicus* will respond accordingly if enough people only express themselves strongly enough. On the issue of the

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REVIEWERS

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war, for example, he claims that "when (Johnson) hears that the people *really* want peace, he'll give it to them." But according to Sherrill's earlier description, Johnson is a conservative ally of the hawks and has often defied popular opinion when he could manipulate it: the case of his civil rights advocacy is a good example. With the war, Johnson is manifestly of one opinion and has in effect challenged his critics to do anything about it. To assume as Sherrill does that Johnson would sue for peace if pressured by popular opinion is to forget that Johnson is a man who will refuse to be repudiated, a manipulator who can appear to be for peace while he escalates the war, and a Cyrano who has staked his manhood on its outcome. For LBJ to listen and change there will have to be a cacophony.

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 307)

sionaries, including Jesuits, denouncing Indians for such customs as assisting each other ("sharing"), or for refusing to participate in the American rat-race of career, house, and appliances. . . . So many commissions and programs begin with the assumption that what the Indians should and must have are houses with flush toilets. So many Indians I know want, instead, jobs that pay fair wages, and employers that treat them with some consideration, and this in the context of their native communities where they can live modestly with their kin.

Leaving aside the perennial issues of the despoiling of Indian property rights and the breaking of pledged treaties, let us turn to the question of how those who wish to do so might in fact assist the Indians. Surely one answer would be to recognize that they have at least as much right to preserve and defend their cultural and social peculiarities as do Jews, Hutterians and Irish-Catholics. The second would be to coordinate programs for change with the National Congress of American Indians, insofar (and only insofar) as it is a representative organization whose delegates have been chosen democratically by the separate tribes (and not by the federal or state government). For readers of *Commonweal*, an additional question would be the role of the Catholic mission orders, their schools and churches; to what extent are these really beneficial to the Indians being missionized and to what extent has their authoritarian posture vis à vis the Indians been a factor contributing to the disorganization of Indian societies and cultures? If lay participation is good medicine for the urban parish, might it not also be appropriate for the Indian mission? MURRAY L. WAX

Reply

El Cajon, Calif.

To the Editors: I agree with a good deal of what Mr. Wax has to say. My main complaint against the book was that it failed to tackle the all-important problem of motivation, and this seems to me to be the springboard for Mr. Wax's criticism too.

The points that Mr. Wax raises in his last paragraph are well taken. Perhaps they will inspire a fuller treatment of the subject by *Commonweal*. Obviously, they could not have been treated adequately—or even mentioned, for that matter—within the space limitation of a short review.

I must point out, however, that the words "splendid introduction" were taken out of context. The gist of my remarks was that there was a basic conflict between what the Commission and the Indians themselves consider the "good life" and that the resultant confusion—largely ignored in the book—might be cleared up by addressing the problem to behavioral scientists, who would find the report's statistical and background material a *splendid introduction* for their efforts. After all, a book of this nature is essentially a fact-gathering venture, with the Commission's conclusions occupying relatively little space. I chose to question those conclusions, but the reader can accept them or reject them without invalidating the rest of what must be considered an important and needed historical summary. . . . LAWRENCE T. KING

Altizer and Hamilton hail this new book on "Death-of-God" theology

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A central part of the spirit of reform has to be a wholly new way of looking at the layman– or, more accurately, a return to an older and better way. The bishops have to face the fact that their office has, in a sense, been overemphasized since the Protestant Reformation. An attack on the entire principle of episcopal authority led to great and, eventually, exaggerated stress on precisely this point inside the Church. The result was a great trend toward clericalism and a de-emphasis on the whole role of the layman. What we need now are efforts to achieve a proper balance and to restore the layman to his true dignity and function inside the Church.

It should be emphasized here that what is needed is not more rhetoric or fulsome tributes to the layman, pleasing as these may be. What is needed is creation. We need structures that will make it possible for the layman to share more fully in the deliberations of, and responsibility for, the Church. It is not enough to tell the layman to participate–*how* is he to do it?

–COMMONWEAL
October 28, 1966

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